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LOCATION AND HISTORICAL SKETCH

THIS volume describes the culture of an Apachean-speaking tribe of the American Southwest as it existed during the youth of the older informants from whom data were collected. The Chiricahua were already horsemen and possessed their first firearms, but tribal life had not yet been disrupted by hostilities with the Americans.

The territory which they controlled during this period was extensive and is not easy to define accurately. They ranged through southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and the northern parts of the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua. The Rio Grande acted as the eastern boundary. Occasional journeys and raids brought them as far north as the pueblo outposts of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi, but ordinarily they did not stray much farther north than the present site of Quemado, New Mexico. The western limits of their country can be roughly indicated, from north to south, by the present towns of Spur Lake, Luna, Reserve, and Glenwood in New Mexico, and by Duncan, Wilcox, Johnson, Benson, Elgin, and Parker Canyon in Arizona. To the south an undetermined area in northern Mexico was also under their control.

The Chiricahua bands were three in number. The most eastern and northern band, whose territories joined those of the Mescalero Apache at the Rio Grande, controlled almost all the Chiricahua territory west of the Rio Grande in New Mexico and has been given a number of names throughout the literature. Those occurring most frequently are Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente Apache, Coppermine Apache, Mimbreños Apache, and Mogollones Apache. The Chiricahua name for this band is *čihénè*, "Red Paint People." In historic times this band has been led by Mangus Colorado, Victorio, Nana, and Loco. From historical records and the accounts of informants, the local groups and camp sites of the members of this band can be traced to the

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534 The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not
177 necessarily connected with ritual, a one-stringed violin (probably inspired by European models), and more infrequently a flute.

The elaborate system of affinal avoidances makes it expedient
361 to allow some space between the home of the man who joins the
621 encampment and those of his wife's relatives. Therefore, a dis-
[602] tance of two or three hundred paces may separate two dwellings. Each family is afforded privacy, yet relatives and neighbors are near enough in case of danger. The comparative independence of each home is further safeguarded by the nature of the country, by natural barriers which often conceal one dwelling from the next, even though the distance which separates them is not great.

[721] Because these people raid surrounding groups as a regular course,
[312] they have reason to fear retaliation and therefore seek to conceal their habitations as much as possible. Desirable locations must be near enough to streams and springs to insure an adequate water supply and close to the highlands so that foes can be led into a fruitless and wearying search through the hills.

The possessions, the materials from which they are made, and
361 the uses which they imply make it plain that the food economy
484 is based on the wild animals and plants of the region and that the
221 people must be ready to follow a seasonal food quest and to re-
[433] move to a new locality when it becomes apparent that hunting or gathering is more rewarding there. A popular folk tale, explica-
[538] ble in terms of this life, tells how a man becomes separated from the members of his family and seeks to rejoin them, passing camp site after camp site which they have abandoned, until he finally overtakes them. Other accounts describe the frequent movements of the people, with those who have no horses carrying their goods and their children.

Sometimes a single household goes off alone on an economic
361 errand and even remains by itself for some time. But, ordinarily,
621 the extended family breaks camp and moves as a body. It can,
596 therefore, be called the smallest unit prepared to maintain a
[433] separate economic existence for any length of time. Thus, even in the midst of the nomadic phase of his life, the most significant
[571] social bonds remain undisturbed for the individual.

Despite constant movement, population tends to concentrate

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881 182 only be guaranteed by separate arrangements between them and the sponsors of the ceremony. Various aspects of the rite, such as the masked dancing and the singing within the ceremonial structure, have but the loosest relations to one another from a purely logical point of view. Yet everyone regards the ritual as a unity and accepts that somehow all the necessities will be secured and the integration achieved in time-honored fashion. No threat to individual rights is made, and there is no danger of reprisal for failure to respond. The motive force is primarily psychological. Because the people at large share in the blessing of the girl and because the ceremony provides them with an eagerly awaited social occasion, to take part in the total round of activities becomes almost a public duty.

THE NOVITIATE FOR RAID AND WAR

881 868 702 When the boy reaches the age at which the girl is elevated to womanhood, he is still undergoing the hardening process. Tasks allotted to the young woman can be graduated according to her strength, but the young man on the raid must cover the same distance and suffer the same hardships as the sturdiest member of the party. Therefore, his social maturation is slower.

At about his sixteenth year the youth approaches manly standards. Yet he is not permitted to plunge recklessly from raiding games to the dangerous reality of stealing the horses of the enemy. Instead, he must serve an apprenticeship on his first four raiding or war expeditions. During this period, though he is exposed to a minimum of danger, he acquires the experience which will enable him to undertake with confidence the hazards of war. This novitiate constitutes the conventionalized mechanism through which the youth reaches adult status.

881 868 702 Before a boy is accepted as a novice, he learns how to care for himself on the march, especially what to do if he should become separated from the others:

484 My relatives and the older men told me, "If you are going on a journey from here, have the women pound meat and fat for you, enough for a week. Take water. Then at sundown, just when it is dark enough so that you can't be seen in the distance, start out. Try to make it across the flats and to the mountains on the other side by daybreak. Then get in the brush and look around. Keep in the

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brush until night and then start out to the next mountain range. Don't go across flats in the day. Only travel day and night if you are in the mountains." 868 881

About water they told me this: "If you don't know where there is water, get up on a high place and look for the green spots. Where there are trees and green grass growing, there you will find water. Don't go to it in the day though. Enemies look for you there. No matter how thirsty you are, wait until night comes. Then go there, drink, and fill up any water container you have brought with you." 702 484

Also they told me to go to sleep in a place from which I could get to cover quickly. And they told me, "Even if it is a hot day, don't go to the deep shade. Go under a little bush in the open or under grass. The first place a Mexican or another Indian or a wild animal looks when it comes along is in the shade, and there you are. If you are in the tall grass and hear something, just pick some grass up, hold it before you, and look through it. Then it will be hard to see you, especially from a distance. If you are out where the brush is heavy and you want to conceal yourself without moving, just take a branch which is to the right or left and pull it in front of you."

I was spoken to in this manner also. "If you see someone in the distance and don't know who it is, pick out a place from which you can get to cover easily but which is in the open and visible from this cover. Take grass and make a fire and put evergreen on to make a heavy smoke. Then put it out at once and run to the place from which you can see well. The person will come over to the place where the fire was, and you can tell who he is. You are in a good place from which to strike or get away if he is an enemy, and you can go to him if he is a friend.

"If you are lost or want to find someone, make a fire and a smoke and put it out. Look around then. Your friends will make one too and then you'll find them. If you want someone to follow you, send up smoke and at the place put a notched stick pointing toward the direction in which you went. Your friends will find it. They will come in to your people and say, 'The fire looks as though it was made two or three days ago; we'd better follow at once.'" [487]

They told me how to camp out in bad weather too. They said: "In winter try to find a tree with wide branches, for there will be less snow under it than in other places. Rake away what snow is there. Find a dry spot, cut branches, and pile them on it, and put your robe on them. Sleep near a fire there. Build the fire on top of the ground if you are not going to stay long. If you are going to camp there for some time, dig a pit."

There is no definite age at which a boy must join his first expedition: "When a boy is old enough, he volunteers." Though there is no compulsion to participate, the physically fit who wish to enjoy material benefits can hardly choose another course. Because of its practical and ceremonial extensions this apprenticeship is indispensable to successful warfare, and the man who has 881 868 702 721 [554]

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621 596 [582] A great many families of a local group are related, but not all of them. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that a man has to marry outside the local group. The families who make up the group shift constantly. A family will often go and attach itself to some other local group.

621 222 462 The women of a local group are the ones who would go to gather mescal together. Those who went would go and come from the main group. It might be that they'd split off into smaller parties which would later rejoin. It depends on how thick the mescal is in one place and how many people there are.

621 619 484 The members of the local group can go anywhere in the territory of their band, but they are out of place if they go into the territory of another band. An individual or family of the Southern Chiricahua band might join many Southern Chiricahua local groups in turn. . . . .

621 701 726 At the time of a big raid, men from more than one local group might get together, but those from each locality would stay around their own leader. He acted as a sort of captain for them. When they made camp at night, those from one local group would stay together. For boys' training, the young fellows of a local group are the most that would be brought together at one time.

621 602 182 Though allegiance to the local group is brittle and its composition is constantly changing, it does provide a common name, base, and leadership for its members and gives them the opportunity to engage in certain industries in common. In these matters it cuts across the boundaries of the extended family, and, if a married man has blood relatives in the same local group, it offers him the opportunity to co-operate with these kin for many purposes. This means that his horizon is never entirely limited to the interests of his affinities.

THE WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND'S RELATIVES

602 596 The married woman has no formal obligation to labor for her husband's relatives but is expected to carry on her industrial activities in company with her mother and sisters as a permanent member of the extended family in which she was born. Moreover, none of her husband's kin calls upon her to avoid them. To express approval, some of them may, however, use polite form in speaking to her.

602 195

Relatives of a boy can ask the girl he marries for polite talk if they think much of him. His own brothers and sisters and cousins can do this. The father and mother of the boy don't do this. They regard their son's wife as their own daughter. The brothers and sisters of both the father and the mother can do it though. But they don't have to. It's up to them.

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names, in order, are: "Little Eagles," "Many Leaves," "Large Leaves," "Large Fruit," "Earth Is Reddish Brown," and "Ghost Face." "Little Eagles" refers to early spring; "Many Leaves" covers the period of late spring and early summer; "Large Leaves" is midsummer; "Large Fruit" (some call this period "Thick with Fruit") designates the harvest time of late summer and early fall. By late fall the hills assume a color for which the term, "Earth Is Reddish Brown" seems appropriate. Dread of the lifeless winter is expressed in the name, "Ghost Face." The entire year is called "one harvest." "Ten years ago would be ten harvests ago." Periods of time shorter than the six divisions with descriptive names are reckoned from new moon to new moon. "You say so many days from the beginning of the new moon," or, "So many new moons ago."

If food is to be gathered near home, the woman takes her large burden basket and works alone or with her daughter or sister. "They have a little jug to carry drinking water in while they are away from camp. Often they stay out all day. They eat any time they care to." When a long journey is necessary, a larger party of women will set out together. "They go in groups of six or so and keep their finds separately." Should the destination be so distant that the group cannot hope to return for some days, men or youths go along to protect them and to assist in the heavy work.

Through most of the winter and until mid spring the household must depend on stored vegetables saved from the preceding year. But in the spring the narrow-leafed yucca sends up a central stem which is gathered while it is still green, tender, and without blossoms. Lengths of the stalk are placed on a bed of embers and roasted until they are soft. The charred outer surface is peeled, and the stalks are eaten without further preparation. Thicker stalks are sometimes roasted in an underground oven. A hole is dug in the earth (one is described as four feet long and three and a half feet deep) and a fire is kindled in it. Stones are heated by placing them on top of the burning wood, and the oven is lined with them. The woman peels the pieces of stalk, pounds them or cuts them in half, places them on the

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252 stones, covers them with dampened grass, and heaps a mound of earth over all. If she does this in the morning, the food will be thoroughly steamed by evening.

[251] After the stalks have been cooked this way, they may be sun-dried and kept for some time, even for a year, in a parfleche. When they are wanted, they are soaked in water to soften them and eaten. Or they may be eaten immediately after they have been baked—often pounded—while they are still soft, with fruit from the broad-leafed yucca or some other fruit. This stalk is not the favorite vegetable, but it becomes important when other food is scarce.

[262] Available at this time also are the white rootstocks and the tender lower portions of the shoots of the tule. These are boiled with meat or made into a soup. "We boil the root with a soup bone as some people do turnips." The root is sometimes dried and stored.

[262] By now the clusters of white flowers of the narrow-leafed yucca are in bloom. These are gathered and boiled with meat or bones. Any surplus is boiled, dried, and stored. The buds of still another variety of yucca (unidentified) are opened and dried.

[251] [263] During the process they must be impaled on sticks "as you dry peaches; you cannot put them on a hide because they would stick to it. . . . These are used to sweeten drinks." The drinks are various kinds of "tea" to be discussed presently.

[262] Not long after this an important food, the agave, century plant, or, as it is more commonly known, the mescal, is ready. The stalks, before any blossoms appear, are cut and roasted or pit baked like yucca stalks, but much more important as a food is the lower portion or crown. If the women live far from the [484] place where mescal is plentiful, they make a long trip to obtain it, establish a temporary camp, and prepare it there before returning home. When many crowns are to be baked, a large pit must be dug and many rocks transported to it; therefore, men sometimes accompany the party to assist with this heavy labor. [462] Whether men are present or not, the women are in charge of the proceedings:

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Sometimes the "heads" are carried, on horses, in loosely woven, traylike containers made of yucca, and the sun-drying is done at home. Most of the mescal is stored in the sun-dried, caked state. When a part of a dried crown is to be eaten, it is soaked in water until it softens. It may be mixed with juniper or sumac berries, piñon nuts, or walnuts for variety. The leaves have a pithy, inedible center, but the inner surface of each has a soft layer that is chewed or scraped.

Ordinarily, the woman goes out several times to gather mescal, for she must have enough for general use and for storage. Since each operation—the trip to the place where the plants grow, the roasting and drying, and the return journey—requires several days, this is a busy period. By the time the mescal stalks have flowered and the plants are unfit for use, summer is at hand, and other foodstuffs have made their appearance.

In early summer the locust tree is in flower. The woman picks the blossoms and boils them with meat or other foods, or she boils them in water, dries them in the sun, and puts them away. Then, when she wishes to use them, "she can cook them over again." The first of a number of varieties of wild onion is ready, too. Onions are eaten raw or boiled with other vegetables and meat. Later at least two other kinds are gathered. In the early part of the growing season, too, especially when other food is scarce, the woman strips off the bark from the Western yellow pine, scrapes its inner surface, and heaps together the soft, sweet material.

Though most of the sumac berries are not ripe until late summer and fall, one variety is ready now: "It [*Rhus microcarpa*] has a small red berry which is picked and brought back. The berries are spread out, and the good ones are picked out, washed, and put in the sunshine to dry. After being ground, they are mixed with mescal, and the mixture does not spoil."

From midsummer on, in certain localities, the berries of the one-seeded juniper ripen:

> They have a reddish tinge when they are ripe and fall to the ground. The women pick them up and put them in sacks or burden baskets they bring with them. When they are very ripe, they can be eaten raw, or, if they are still very hard, they can be boiled just enough to make them soft. Another way to use

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The acorns of both the Gambel oak and the live oak are valuable foods, for the acorn is used in a kind of pemmican:

In the autumn the women wait until the acorns are ripe and fall to the ground. Then they gather many of them and bring them in. Some people leave them in sacks just as they are when gathered and later crack the shells with their teeth and eat the nuts.

But some roast the nuts a little, crack them, and put them out in the sun to dry. Then they use the nuts with the dry [jerked] deer meat and some fat. First they pound the dry meat on a rock and mix it with a little fat. Then they take the acorn meats and pound them up fine. After that they mix the meat and the acorns together. They shape it like meat balls, and these keep all winter. If they are camping in any place, they can have it for any meal. When it is made this way it is all ready to eat at any time. You eat it just as it is. Because it is all prepared, it is a good thing to take on a journey. When a big group is on a journey and a child is hungry, they give it some of this.

During the summer and fall the women gather various greens for flavoring stews and soups. Lamb's quarter is one of these. It is cooked with meat or bones, chili, and onions. Locust pods, the white seeds of the anglepod, the seeds of the unicorn plant, and still other varieties of wild potatoes and onions are procured at this time.

A number of grasses and other plants (among them dropseed grass, tumbleweed, pigweed, spurge, and sunflower) are harvested for their seeds. Most of these are hand threshed as previously described, or a large amount of the seed-bearing tops is cut, put on a hide, dried, and beaten with a stick. The largest stems and leaves are picked out by hand, and the remainder winnowed "by letting them fall to a hide from a tray basket." The same end may be attained by "tossing the seeds in a hide; then the leaves are blown away."

To obtain sunflower seeds in quantity, the woman fills her burden basket with the flowers and later lays them out to dry at home. When the plants are thoroughly dried, the seeds can easily be shaken out. Or, if the seeds are very ripe, the back of the sunflower head is shaken or is given a sharp blow with a stick, and the seeds fall into a burden basket which has been placed under the plant. These seeds are ground up and are added

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222 252 262 [251] to meat dishes to form a gravy, or they are made into flour for bread baked in hot ashes. Sunflower seeds and other seeds are often placed with hot coals in a tray basket and "worked around" until they are parched.

824 [221] In the fall when the tule is yellow with pollen, the tops of the plants are cut off, brought to camp, and dried. Then the dry tops are shaken or struck over an outspread buckskin. Pollen is gathered, without special ceremony, from other plants and from trees by shaking them after placing a piece of well-tanned, uncolored [237] buckskin to catch it. Buckskin is always the proper receptacle. It is said that "pollen would go through cloth," but more important is the feeling that "it would be wrong" to use anything but buckskin for pollen bags and containers.

222 462 [221] From early spring to the onset of winter, the woman gathers fruits and vegetables which grow at different elevations and in different areas. She does not keep at this task steadily, for she has many other duties. But she must be ready at the report of a good natural harvest to leave at once for the region where it is. 222 484 592 621 [596] Often it is near by; but many times the site is so far distant, and the work ahead so time-consuming, that the entire household goes with her and sets up a temporary camp. Using this as a base, the husband hunts while his wife gathers the wild crop that has drawn them there. Not infrequently more than one household or an extended family consisting of a number of households temporarily leaves the larger encampment or local group on such an errand. Thus, in order that the woman may obtain the various foods in the order in which they mature, the household remains a mobile unit, ready to detach itself from the local group at short notice and to rejoin this group or another just as easily.

222 While the women are foraging, they are on the lookout for beehives:

[824] Honey is found in the stalks of mescal, sotol, and the narrow-leafed yucca. The bee deposits the honey in the stalk. The bee which does this is a big yellow one. The women search for honey in these stalks. They gather it in the fall. They split the stalk to find it. It's like candy. I used to be great for honey!

Honey is also obtained from a large yellow bee that nests in the ground. To secure this store, the device of allowing the bees to

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342 184 A house form that departs from *the more common dome*-shaped variety is recorded for the Southern Chiricahua as well:

A house with sides that go up to a point has been used as far back as I can remember. When we settled down, we used the wickiup; when we were moving around a great deal, we used this other kind. No certain number of poles was used for this type. The poles were never carried along. For the girl's puberty rite my people used the tepee. I can remember this was used back when I was eight or nine years old. [88] [346]

This alternate house type with slanting sides was a hastily constructed and very temporary dwelling among the Central and Southern Chiricahua and is hardly comparable to the permanent home of the Plains Indians. Among the Eastern Chiricahua, however, the tepee was more common and was better made, though it never became the favored form:

A few of the Eastern Chiricahua had a tepee like that of the Mescalero. Sometimes it was made with a three-pole base and sometimes with a four-pole base. The three-pole base was more common. In my day it was cloth covered, but the old people talk of them and say that, before the whites and the Spanish were here, hides were used. But most of the people of my group used the round house.

The Eastern Chiricahua didn't drag the poles of the tepee when they moved. They put them on the front of the saddle, as many as they could carry, and then went back for the rest. Usually they just discarded them though. They could always make new ones. [484] [492]

342 In addition to these regular house forms, both men and women, when they were away from home, made windbreaks by "crossing some sticks and throwing brush and leaves against them."

HOME INDUSTRIES OF MEN

411 [462] [824] *Weapons and tools.*—Foremost among the man's tasks when he is at home are the making and the repairing of weapons.

The favorite wood for the bow is from the mulberry tree. Oak, locust, and New Mexico maple are also acceptable. The self-bow is the only type made. It is usually three to four feet long, "the length of two arrows."[16] Almost always it has a single curve, though double-curved bows are made occasionally.

[16] These would be the "short" or hardwood shafted arrows. For arrow lengths see p. 390.

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492 rups, a rope bit which is tied under the horse's mouth, and a bridle with reins attached to the bit and tied together at the end. The quirt, of braided rawhide, is a foot and a half or more long and is fringed at the tip. The handle ends in a loop by [283] which it is suspended from the wrist or held. Yucca-rope hobbles are made; they are tied to the saddle when not in use.

232 If the horse has a sore foot and goes lame, its owner makes a rawhide pouch with a drawstring at the top and ties this over its [174] ailing hoof. Since these "horse moccasins" are always said to be made of cowhide, perhaps their use is recent.

492 The horseman likes to have a mountain lion skin or some other fine fur to throw over the saddle bag "to make it look nice. The [177] Mexican people did this, so the Chiricahua did it too."

The rider mounts from the left side of the horse, putting his left foot in the stirrup and throwing his right leg over the horse's back. If the horse is not in the habit of running away, the rider, when he stops anywhere, throws the reins over its head to the ground.

484 *Rafts and boats.*—When rivers or rain-swollen streams have to 501 be crossed "if there are just a couple of men on horseback, they [492] hang on to the manes of the horses, and let them swim with them." But if groups of people must cross bodies of water, the men make rafts:

> When we were coming east and got to the Rio Grande and it was high, the men took logs about twelve feet long or so and tied cross-pieces to them. It makes a raft about three or four feet wide. They had a rope attached to it in front. The best swimmers pulled it along. The rope was around their bodies, or they pulled it with their teeth sometimes. Some good swimmers would be in back to help push. One person would sit on the back to keep the front of it out of the water. Others who couldn't swim or who couldn't swim well would hang on to ropes along the sides. Possessions, sick people, or old people could be brought across water in this way.

One Eastern Chiricahua informant described a bullboat which the men make: "Sometimes when there are no big logs around, they take a rawhide and put sticks crossways inside it. Then they tie the ends up. In this way they make a boat and go across with that."

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THE ROUND OF LIFE

512 THE economic, ceremonial, and social practices which have been described provide a framework within which members of the tribe move. But the full reality is something more. The individual pauses to enjoy the result of his efforts, seeks to earn the good opinion of his neighbors, pays visits to his friends, and attempts to find satisfaction and laughter. His days are filled with many minor adjustments to other human beings. And all these responses are guided by a body of understandings and etiquette.

CAMP LIFE AND ETIQUETTE

625 Every encampment of any size, especially when there is any suspicion of danger, has a guard at night. The lookout "is not especially chosen. It is just anyone who feels like it and is willing to do it. There is no organization about it." When information 202 concerning the enemy's movements demands that near-by groups of tribesmen be notified, "fast runners are sent" with the message. If the distance is great, the messenger rides a horse, [492] because "horses are hardier and don't get hungry or thirsty [825] soon."

484 When the people move from a camp site, certain precautions must be taken:

> The fire pit is covered up neatly, and the brush beds are gathered up and put in a neat pile. They say that, if you leave the camp just as it was in use and simply pick up your blankets and go, the coyote, the crow, and other harmful animals and birds may come and urinate or defecate on the place. Then, because everything is arranged just as it was when it was occupied, the person it belongs to will be affected wherever he is. [825]

A different reason for the care taken in breaking camp was offered by another informant:

> When moving camp, the mattresses of grass, leaves, and branches are brought together and put all in one pile. The beds are not left as they were when they [765] [513]

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484 were in use, for, if some member of the family should die and the bed is not taken
[765] apart in this manner, it would be at the last camp site as it was when it was used
[513] by this dead person and would remind others of the user. This causes sorrow to friends and relatives.

821 There are a number of methods for reckoning time, so that
805 movements and meetings may be planned and ceremonies performed according to a schedule:

> During the day, time is judged by the shadows caused by the sun. It is noon when the shadow drops just under you. Some people place a stick upright in the ground and watch the movement of the shadow to figure out the time of day. Another way is to note how many fingers the sun is above the horizon. On cloudy days you have to guess at the position of the sun.
>
> We notice the shortening of the days as winter gets near. As soon as the days begin to lengthen, we say, "It [the sun] has begun to move back upward."
>
> During the night we tell time by the position of the moon and the morning star. In wintertime the morning star gets as high as halfway between the horizon and the zenith. When it is in this position, it is nearly morning.

The Big Dipper is used in telling time at night. "As its stars 'spin around' it is possible to tell the passage of the night by whether the cup is turned or not." "The Dipper turns around and faces down; this takes all night." Another group of stars consulted for the time of night is the Pleiades. "You can see it early in the evening in winter in the east. When it is high, morning is near."

821 Stars that appear at certain seasons are noted. "There is a star that is right straight up in the summer. We call it 'rock bed' after the rocks at the bottom of the mescal pit."

264 Members of the household usually eat two meals together, although sometimes individuals eat during the day as they get hungry and gather for an evening meal only:

> We never followed the three-meals-a-day idea at home or away. Even in the morning there wasn't a regular meal unless there was meat that had to be boiled and eaten warm. Then we would eat together for convenience. Otherwise there
> [178] was no system. Three meals a day is recent. At home, in everyday life, the women eat with the men, but at social dances and feasts they do not.

[412] Each person helps himself from a common container, using his
[824] fingers for solid foods and a yucca-blade spoon for liquids. Though "it is considered impolite to make a noise while eating,"

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

101 These Apache were a highly mobile group and their [484] geographical background is, therefore, not so well understood as is that of sedentary tribes. Also in the early days of Spanish penetration they were known by various names and confused with other groups. In view of these circumstances it is impracticable to try to fully describe their geographical setting; hence, only a few examples of this aspect of their environment will be presented.

133 137 The territory through which they ranged constituted a rich variety topographically and climatically, ranging from the flat lowlands of the Southwest, such as the Tularosa Basin, where sagebrush *(Artemisia filifolia)*, creosote bush, Mormon tea, cacti, yuccas, and mesquite comprise the characteristic vegetation; through the low hills where mescal and sotol abound; the foothills of the mountains where one-seeded juniper, piñon, and three-leaved sumac grow in abundance; to the higher elevations covered by growths of western yellow pine, spruce, and aspen. The mild, sunny winters and devastatingly hot summers of the lowlands contrasted greatly with the severe, snow-ridden winters of the mountains, although the mountains were cool and invigorating during other seasons of the year. The fauna varied with the elevation, too. In the flats were the prairie dogs, rabbits, and antelope; in the mountains, deer, elk, and mountain sheep.

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221 Of all this variety the Apache was the master. He moved with the seasonal change of weather, and followed [182] the wild food harvests as they occurred. His adaptation and response to the ecological region in which he lived was sensitive and complete. When the colder weather came he removed to a lower altitude; in summer he was in the highlands again. When the mesquite and screwbean ripened on [222] the flats, parties of Apache were there to gather them; when the hawthorn hips were ready in the highlands, Apache were nearby to take them. These people knew nature's calendar by heart, and no matter whether a grass seed ripened or a

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certain animal's fur or flesh was at its best at the particular time, the Apache was present to share in the harvest.

In former times the country of the Apache was a difficult one for the uninitiated to cross. The lowlands were hot and dry and made thorny traveling. A glimpse of water turned out more often to be a mirage. Wide arroyos and washes, cut by the torrential flows which often follow the sudden rains of the surrounding mountains, barred the passage. The tangled brush of the foothills made progress slow, and the high ranges were a formidable barrier to one who was not acquainted with the passes and short cuts.

The Apache made perfect familiarity with this region in all its aspects an ally to his safety. He knew the water holes of the flats. He knew the travel distance from point to point and, therefore, how much food and water to carry. He was aware of the shortest passes and best hiding places in the mountains. If cut off from his own group, he knew where he was likely to find other parties of Apache camping, and he was trained to endure hardship and to shift for himself in this environment until he could make contact with friends.

But, though the Apache helped themselves freely to the plant and animal life of the lowlands, it must not be thought that they felt equally at home in both the plains and the mountains. After all, they were essentially mountain people. In the lowlands they had serious competitors, such as the Plains Indians, whom they acknowledged to be their equals and even their masters in knowledge of such country and its resources. But in the mountains they felt confident and secure. Here they had their retreats and their cave caches of food supply laid up against need and emergency. Army officers have commented often enough upon the difficulty of finding and besting the Apache in their mountain stations.

For the original habitat of the Mescalero, portions of southern New Mexico may be taken as an example. The west side of the great plains of New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico is a region consisting of isolated mountain ranges and intervening plains or broad, open valleys. Several of these val-

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MATERIAL CULTURE

It will be understood that a people who lived by hunting and gathering, whose contacts with nature were so close and exacting, and whose food quest demanded much movement, could not develop a very elaborate material culture. The characteristic dwelling of these Apache tribes was a dome-shaped structure covered with grass thatching, hides, or bark. Household utensils included a pitch-covered woven water jar, coiled basket trays, and large burden baskets of twine work. There were dippers and spoons of split gourds, and ladles of split mountain-sheep horn. Metates and manos were found in the surrounding country and brought to camp, or crude ones were fashioned by the Apache themselves. For household purposes the Apache made rock pounders and stone axes hafted to wooden handles. Occasionally an Apache woman made a few clay pots, but because of the breakage of this ware that attended the roving life, it was found to be an unprofitable procedure. On the march these people carried water containers made from the stomachs or intestines of animals.

There was a distaff-type twisting tool which wound together buffalo or horse hair into rope. Ropes of twisted rawhide were also widely used. Long strips of yucca and mescal leaves were used for binding material. Sinew from the loin and leg of the larger game animals was shredded for thread. Women had a special rawhide rope for wood-carrying and some had a special conveyor of wood and rawhide for this purpose.

The lower leg bone of the deer was ground down to make a drill. Later the iron-tipped arrow was used as a boring tool.

In connection with the horse complex, the men made their own whips, saddles, stirrups, cinches, bridles, saddle bags, and even made rawhide bags which were tied over the hoofs to prevent or cure lameness of horses.

For purposes of grooming, combs of mountain mahogany *(Cercocarpus montanus)* and brushes of folded and pounded mescal or sotol leaves were made.